* 539 /351 cont./
any noise and go to my room. There I am going to sleep and on the next day show my body as it has become now." Then Miriápura Turíkaro, who was very vain, said: "No, you are coming with me now, in the daytime." The younger son knew what was going to happen, and he again refused to enter Bajsebowí by day, but Miriápura Turíkaro forced him to go with him to Bajsebowí. Then the younger son said: "All right, I am going with you."

In the meanwhile in the maloca of Bajsebowí the older brother already knew that his younger brother had been revived and that he was coming /352/ with Miriápura Turíkaro to the • [825 763] maloca of Bajsebowí. Then the older brother made a little bird appear, one that likes to live in the roofs of malocas, and they are a bad omen, for when they strike with their beaks on the top beam of the maloca, then someone in that maloca is going to die. In Tukano /Tucano/ this little bird is called Ñamákasero, and when it sings it says: "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú," which in Spanish means: "de allí salió un diablo /a devil came out of there/." After the older brother made the Ñamákasero appear, he sent one Ñamákasero to go up to the roof of the maloca to keep vigil, he sent another Ñamákasero to the front door of the maloca, and he sent another Ñamákasero to the back door of the maloca. Meanwhile the younger son and Miriápura Turíkaro were going toward the maloca of Bajsebowí. The younger son walked in front and Miriápura Turíkaro walked behind his son. When the Ñamákasero at the front door of the maloca of Bajsebowí saw them coming, it began to sing "Uajtí-piatiamí-siú-siú-siú" several times. Then the female Ñamákasero, which was on the back door of the maloca, answered, "Níto uajtí, níto uajtí, níto aujtí /sic/," which means in Spanish: "Dónde está el diablo /where is the devil/? Dónde está el diablo? Dónde está el diablo?" As soon as the two Ñamákasero said this, the younger son was very much ashamed, and he said to Miriápura Turíkaro: "I will not enter the maloca of Bajsebowí because they are calling me Uajtí" (22). Then Miriápura Turíkaro said to

22. Spirit; devil.

*539 /129 cont./
Yepá Huáke did make them look at the sky. They marched two times looking at the sky and two times looking at the land. And Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũĩo. And the gũĩo trembled and there was another flash of lightning. And Yepá Huáke ordered Siópuri Uejké and all of his people to go up and march on the gũĩo again. And this time Yepá Huáke ordered them to march four times on the gũĩo looking toward the river, and then Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũĩo again. And the gũĩo trembled and there was a clap of thunder again. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more for you." Then Yepá Huáke ordered Siópuri Uejké with all his people and Yúpuri Baúro with all his people to sit down on the floor of Diawĩ.

*539 •825 All the animals were inside of Diawĩ. And today the animals that do not have tails are like people. But in Diawĩ all the animals had tails, and the animals became changed like mad ones and began to eat their own tails, and that is why some of them do not have tails. And Yepá Huáke began to watch the animals. Then Yepá Huáke said: "It does not seem right to me. I created you so that you would be like people. Now stay like animals so that the people can eat you." When Yepá Huáke said this, all the animals were frightened and stopped eating their tails; this is why some animals still have tails. Then Yepá Huáke said: "There we are." And when Yepá Huáke had said this, Yepá Huáke grasped both bell sticks that were piercing the tail and the head of the gũĩo and he pulled them out at the same time. And then Yepá Huáke ordered the gũĩo to go out of Diawĩ as far as the port of Diawĩ. And the boat of the gũĩo stayed there. And then Yepá Huáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro with all his people and Siópuri Uejké with all his people to dance and to drink chicha and to eat coca and to sing. And all stayed up until dawn. And then Yepá Huáke made an investigation, and he knew that, when all /130/ the people were having their feast, the animals who were talking against the people said that they were going to eat the people. The first one that spoke was Wejké (45),

45. The danta.

* 539
•825

/130 cont./
and she said that she was going to eat the people. And as soon as Wejké had spoken, Aña (46)

46. The snake.

answered, who said that she would also eat the people. When Aña spoke like this, Boraró answered that he too would eat people. Boraró has the appearance of a person, walks on two feet, and with only one shout makes people unconscious. When Boraró had spoken, another animal called Utanurú (47)

47. Animal that, according to the Tukano, has the appearance of a cricket and eats the excrement of human beings.

answered that he, too, would eat people. When Yepá Huáke was making his investigation, Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "What was it that you said?" Wejké answered: "I did not say anything." Yepá Huáke said: "Tell me the truth and do not lie to me." And Wejké did not answer. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "When you kill a person, how are you going to kill him?" Then Wejké took out a whistle and said: "I am going to kill with this whistle." Then Yepá Huáke said: "Blow it to see how it sounds." Then Wejké said: "Good." And Wejké blew the whistle. When Wejké blew the whistle, the land opened and nature fell to pieces. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Show me the whistle so that I may look at it." And Wejké handed the whistle to Yepá Huáke. And after taking the whistle from Wejké. Yepá Huáke said: "You are not going to eat people; on the contrary, people will eat you." This is why we now eat danta, and it is tasty. And Yepá Huáke gave this whistle to Emo (48).

48. The monkey.

*539 •825 /130 cont./
And Emo also had a little whistle, and this little whistle was not for eating people. And Yepá Huáke said to Emo: "Take this whistle of Wejké and go up on top of the trees, and there you can play with that whistle. Give me the little whistle that you had." And Emo gave him the little whistle that he had. And Yepá Huáke handed to Wejké the little whistle that had belonged to Emo. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Blow it." Then Wejké said: "All right." And Wejké blew the whistle, and the whistle sounded like the whistle of the police of Bogotá. Then Wejké started to cry. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Go to the forest." And Yepá Huáke continued speaking, this time to the snake. And Yepá Huáke said to Añia: "What was that you said?" And Añia answered truthfully and said /131/ "I did say something. Then Yepá Huáke said: "With which fang are you going to bite?" And Añia said: "With this one," pointing to one in her mouth. And Yepá Huáke said: "All right, show it to me." And Añia showed it to him. And Yepá Huáke pulled out the fang, and that is why now Añia bites people, but her bite does not hurt. And then Yepá Huáke continued talking to Utanurú. And then Yepá Huáke said to him: "You are not going to eat people, but you are going to eat excrement." While Yepá Huáke was talking with Utanurú, the other Añia (49),

49. The poisonous snake.

whose fang had not been pulled by Yepá Huáke, went out, running with his own woman. And after Añia, the poisonous one, Boraró went out, running with his own woman. Then the jaguar went out with his own woman. This is why those animals that ran out without speaking to Yepá Huáke are the wild animals that we have now. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more." Then Yepá Huáke opened the little box that held sleep and night and distributed all the little seeds of sleep and night. Then Yepá Huáke said: "Put them here on the heart." And all the people put the little seeds of sleep and night on the heart. After this, Yepá Huáke said: "There is going to

*539 [513]

/141 cont./

154 he does not know, that he does not understand his tribal brother.
521 We understand, then, that from imperfect narrations, in which emphatic gestures and noises from the mouth supply words and ideas, will appear misunderstandings, alteration of the narrator's thought, variation in the reports and in the tales.

154 When we manage to get some native to talk to us spontaneously, with intimacy, we verify that this man who seems to us
825 well-balanced, of little impressionability, that alumnus or alumna of the missionary schools, with an appearance of one almost civilized, not only has a head burdened with so many exotic legends and strange beliefs, but he even hears and sees with impressive frequency apparitions, voices, words, mysterious sayings. It surprises us at times to hear from the lips of young men and women, with many years of contact with civilization, perhaps even of life in cities such as Manaus, the strangest tales of visions that they had, in full daylight, in their hut or in the clearing, on the road, on a trip; voices, sayings that they heard, unbelievable events, fabulous or legendary, that they are sure of having witnessed, giving us place, time, names of persons (for example, that they saw Wïx'ti, Boraró, etc.; persons who have changed, or who periodically change, into /142/ animal, anta, piraboto /dolphin/, who spend days, weeks, and even months in the depths of the water, etc.) (6).

6. We have been consulted by young men and women who have been through the Mission schools and who asked us with all conviction: -- "How is it possible for people to turn into a dolphin?" "to turn into an anta?" Patrícia Vasconcelos, for example, in October of 1955 told us the following as a fact about which she has absolute certainty. So-and-So of the Taryana tribe, from the povoado of Araríparí (Uaupés) and former student of the Mission of Iauareté, married a Tukano youth who has already worked several times in Taracuá and

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*[192]

/142 cont./

/footnote 6 cont./ other Missionary centers. Another young man wanted to have her as his wife and, in revenge, one time while walking through the forest with her husband (this around 1952), gave him a leaf of pirá-yawára-pũrĩ (plant of the dolphin, Patricia explained to us) to touch. One day "the husband became different," "he became like a dolphin" (that is, breathing like the dolphin does on top of the water), and he finally dove into the Rio Negro there in Tapurucuara (formerly S. Isabel). He stayed in the water a whole day. The dolphins pushed him toward the land, and he "became a person" again. Several times "he has turned into a dolphin." The wife of the unhappy young man herself is the one who told her these episodes, and she cries a great deal because of this misfortune.

829 On one side, the reserve of the native before the civilized, because he knows that the latter does not understand him or believe in such tales, and perhaps will even scold or ridicule him, and, on the other side, the desire to seem civilized will make him remain silent about all this to the "white" who travels among them, in order that he will not notice this trait of the psychology of the Indian.

154 Perhaps it will not be an exaggeration to present as a general trait of the native psychology this superexcitability of the fantasy. Maybe one should even qualify it as confused and establish it as a deviation from normality, if we make a comparison with that of the civilized.

/263 cont./

*192 805 821 Axsí mãhõá:ti wá:ró -- (the heat begins to rise), around nine in the morning

Axsí mãhõá:ti daharítero twa'tá nõ'kã-nĩmĩ -- (the heat increases, the time of returning draws near), around ten o'clock

Daharí-tero -- (time to return, let us say, from the clearing), around 11-12 o'clock

õmã-ko dexkó -- (midday), around 12 o'clock

Daharítero mãhõá-nĩmĩ dõhõagõ --(the sun rose and sank after the time to return), around one o'clock

Tõreárẽ dexkó -- (half the descent of the sun), around 2-3 o'clock

Sahãgõ wemĩ-məhã -- (the sun is going in), around 4 o'clock

Sahã-wá:pi-məhã -- (the sun went in), around 6 o'clock

Nai-kea wá: -- (it is getting dark), around 7 o'clock

Nãỹá wá:məhã -- (it got a little darker), around 7 or 8 o'clock

Yamĩ nĩ-məhã -- (the night advanced), around 9 o'clock

Yamĩ-ka bwĩ -- (above the night, late at night), around 10 o'clock

Yamĩ dexkó -- (midnight), around 12 o'clock

d) Natural Sciences.

1) Ideas about nature.

*192 • 825 a) There are reminiscences of an old belief, according to which they judged that all the animals were "people," maxsã. Some stated to us categorically that the animals are "people." Confirmation of this belief perhaps is the fact that in the Tukano language all the animals are of the masculine gender; whereas all the inanimate beings are of the neuter gender.

When they catch an animal or group of animals, for example, deer, anta, etc., tarrying to drink water or to lick a stone (cf. anta sucker, VI -- 5, b (2), Note 73), they think that these animals are besotted because they have spent a night of dances and orgies.

They likewise explain that the piracema /school of fish/ is a large concentration of fish solemnizing a caxirí.

/264/ There is a species of white vulpídeos with some black feathers and called "baaró" (known also by the regional name of "tesoura" /Muscivora tyrannus/), which at certain times appear in flocks looking for worms. Being light in weight and having abundant

/264 cont./

*192 • 825 plumage, they are graceful and light in flight. They believe that it is a group of spirits or "people," who dance in the air. They call them ã'rã nõ'myá (girls of the sierra) and assert that they do not make nests, because nobody has ever found them sitting in the nest.

b) They admit the transformation of the animals. They believe, for example, that some worms that proliferate in the bacaba tree become transformed, on the occasion of eclipses, into the fish bũxkõã-wi (or matapí, of the Siluridae), because they find a certain likeness with such worms. Confirmation of this origin seems to them to be disclosed in the fact that such fish are found still alive in the forest after the lezírias (igapós) dry out. They say that, because of having been worms, they flee to the forest when timbo is put in the streams.

We point out (VII -- 4, j (1)/see 4, f (1)/) that they admit the possibility of human persons being transformed, temporarily or permanently, into animals; and vice versa.

They assert that the parrots are "children of the forest," nãxkã wimãrá. Actually they are children of Boraró (see VII -- 4, d (56) /see 4, d (5b)/) or Curupira. They live naked, playing; whenever they want to go about, they put on feathers and fly.

They tell interesting stories about the origin of certain animals; for example, Ahã, inambú /bird/, was previously a very pretty girl. The parrots veú arose through the transformation of two sisters, wives of a handsome Baré youth.

262 773 c) We have pointed out elsewhere (VII -- 2, e (1)) their belief in immortality itself. They say that formerly they did not eat animal flesh. It was permitted to add worms and insects to the exclusively vegetable diet. During this time of a vegetarian regimen, there were no sicknesses, they say. Those appeared after their parents started to eat the flesh of fish and of animals. During certain illnesses the pajé will immediately prescribe that they abstain from the meat of large animals (anta, deer, monkey, etc.). [755]

They assert, moreover, that in the beginning the Tukano not only did not die, but did not even grow old. After they had lived many, many years, always strong, they ended their life when someone cast a malefice, dohasé, on them. *[192]

/267/

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826 õx'só (pl. õx'sõ-ri), thigh
õx'sé-peko-a (pl. peko-ri), knee
kũ-ñarõ (pl. kũ-ñãsé), knee
ñõxkã (pl. ñõxkã-ri), leg, shinbone
ñõxkã-di-a (pl. ñõxkã-di-pá), calf
ñõxkã-ga-phi (pl. phiri), shin
dõ'pó-kã (pl. dõ'pó-kãri), leg, foot, base
dõ'pó-di-a (pl. dõ'po-dipá), heel
dõ'pó-pãma (pl. pãmãri), sole of the foot
dõ'pó-pika (pl. pikari), toe
dõ'pó-sero (pl. seri), toenail
ã'ñaya-gá (pl. ã'ñaya-pá), ankle
õ'tá or ã'tã (inv.), feces
õ'tá-mi'si (pl. mi'siri or mi'si-dari), intestines, entrails, viscera
õ'tá-su'tiro (pl. su'ti), stomach
ya'ko-kó or Yá'kó (inv.), tears
di (inv.), blood
di'i or di'iró (inv.), flesh
di-wá:-da (pl. di-wá:-dari), vein, artery
di-wa:sé (pl. di-wa:sé-dari), vein, artery

3) Classification of the animals.

*192
• 825 Among the animals they admit the following distinction:

1st. -- Ya'ãrá (Uaupés ña'ãná) (that is, bad, ferocious) -- they are the beasts and harmful animals, such as the onça /jaguar/, gambá /opossum/, etc.

2nd. -- Nãxkã-khãrá (U. khãná) (that is, inhabitants of the forest) -- they are the edible wild animals, such as the cutia /agouti/, the paca, etc.

3rd. -- Ex'kãrá (U. ex'kãná) (that is, those that they feed) -- they are the domestic ones, such as the chicken, pig, etc.

4th. -- Bããrá (U. baãná) (that is, those that they eat) -- under this name come the fish, caterpillars, insects, etc., which they usually eat.

5th. -- Bwĩrá (U. bwíná) (bwí, up above) -- they are the ones that fly.

/325 cont./

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/footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as corresponding to: heart, soul, and conscience. When they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis, the natives naturally give the word héri-põra this threefold equivalence. The old ones, however, only use it in the material sense, to indicate a part of the organism, that is, the assemblage of the principal internal organs, especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does
[756] it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubêwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

764 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse
775 his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

/326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul,
775 upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal.
• 825 But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic; 14/

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14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/326 cont./

775 825 however, to state more precisely as to whether the animal was already alive (so some opine) or was born at the moment when the human soul entered it; or whether it is a matter of a permanent or temporary condition.

According to some, it is only the souls of the bad ones that 756 pass into the body of animals. That of the pajés can enter that 774 of the onça /jaguar/ (15).

825 *[192]

15. The onça, if it is not starving, does not come to the povoados. When there is a lack of food, it growls in the vicinity of the malocas, attacks the dogs, and various episodes of its even entering the huts are cited. Pe. João Marchesi informed us that one time on the upper Papurí an onça killed two Indians and ate part of the cadavers. They set a trap beside the cadavers and managed to catch it. They did not have the courage to kill it, however (probably because they thought that the wãx-tí of the victims were in it). But around the trap and the cadavers they put wood and fire until everything was reduced to ashes. And they would cry and say: "You have killed our brother (the Tukano) and our slave (the Makú)," and "they thought that in the onça there was the spirit of a pajé" (so they explained to Pe. Marchesi).

It should be remembered that they call the pajé or sorcerer yai, a term that precisely means onça.

756 775 [782] [276] It is a more general belief that the souls of the pajés go to occupy the region of the thunder, from where they send storms and lightning bolts, thus avenging themselves on the men who killed them or did them harm. They think they propitiate them by sending them the smoke of the cigars or shaking the maracás, rites that the pajés performed while alive.

/356 cont./

c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wá:kõ?

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In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wá:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wá:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67),

[823]

67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water.
775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not.
776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ.
756 And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons,
829 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3)). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ.
[825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called uruká-tutú, due to the
*[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of
*[192] a deceased civilized person, pexká-sã wẽ'ri Wã̃-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near [784] Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

• 825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

823 There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and *[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

[103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ґá-fiõã (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-põ õxtã (rock of the sun or of [782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

754 There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick; it is the yuxkõ dohõ-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

*[192] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the
[226] face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.
[832]

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
291 practices and prescriptions:

1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger;
821 if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small wood-
• 825 pecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
*[192] ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tĩrosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/365 cont./

• 825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

* [192] [304] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

[224] [226] Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one * [192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

/474 cont./

614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, juritĩ /dove/, jibóia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

[237] [301] [535] 2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

[535] [532] 3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewãna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825] 4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

/475 cont./

614 flight, which tends to become lower and lower. When it wants to
• 825 cross a river, it goes up one of the highest trees on the bank, so they assure us, and from there starts its flight, which little by little loses height, and sometimes, on the rivers that are too wide, they do not manage to reach the other bank. It was observed that the Tukano Indians, seeing a tucano /toucan/ fly over the river Uaupés at one of the widest points, uttered cries, as though of apprehension, in fear that the bird might not succeed in reaching the opposite bank.

They are only traces that at most might lead one to infer an earlier social form of totemic clan, if they are not elements acquired by borrowing (the instinct of imitation of the Indians is so re-
[824] markable) from other groups. One does not note, however, any attention (respect, fear, pleasure) toward the animal or plant whose name they bear; names, besides, without economic importance (except the Baniva or another one), contrary to what happens as a rule in connection with the totemic names.

It has not been noted that they avoid killing it or, on the contrary, try to eat it in some special circumstances. If they find it dead, /476/ no sign of surprise. It is certain that at times they kill it in order to use its feathers in the dance ornaments. But, at least in the present form (112),

[178]

> "112. We so often insist on the idea that these are present customs. This is because it becomes difficult or impossible to verify how they proceeded in other times. And the Indians respond to our questions: -- "It has always been this way."

the ornaments are the same for the various tribes, be they called Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirá-tapuya, etc. It can even be asserted that their attitude is one of perfect indifference before the animal with their own name, more or less just as before any other animal.

614 There are no tucano /toucan/, pica-pau /woodpecker/, juritĩ
619 /dove/, etc. clans, either. They are and they are considered nations or different tribes, each one with its own language and peculiar somatic features. It is true that one and the same tribe is subdivided into groups with names that might seem clanlike (cf. IV-2-a(2) /see a(3)/). But they indeed are not the animals that appear

/476 cont./

614 in the dance ornaments. Besides, such groups, or Gentes, are far
619 from the classic type of clan. For example, marriage is not permitted between the Gentes, but only between one and another Nation.

The ornaments with feathers of the tucano /toucan/, arara, garça /heron/, or monkey fur are bound up with the legend of Wãx-tĩ, which, due to the mutual relationship between the tribes, has figured in the history of each tribe. The ornaments, however, are [438] not distinctive for family or clan. They are essentially the same for all the tribes, being an object of trade of one tribe with another. This circumstance alone already speaks against a clan interpretation.

[532] It is absolutely not noted that any tribe or group has any pictorial representation by incision or sculpture of any animal whatso-
[825] ever, and even less of its titular.

As for the dance masks and personages, it is to be observed first [53] that there is the one of the borboleta /butterfly/, and nevertheless there is no human group with this denomination, and nothing reveals its having existed. In the second place there are mask, dance, and song of the cutia /agouti/, and a subdivision among the Tukano, the Bwá-põrã, children of the cutia, and an Arwake tribe of the Içana, Awadzuranai or cutia-tapuya, are known under this name; and nevertheless there is no such mask among the Tukano, but there is among the Arwako.

It seems that the same personage now does the borboleta /butterfly/, now the cutia, etc. Now one, now another will do such a role; within the same maloca there are the various personages, and it is not a matter of a function inherited from father to son either. All this testifies against the hypothesis of the existence of clan subdivisions.

/477/ As for the episode of the concern for the tucano [825] /toucan/ that was crossing the river, it could be a manifestation of simple curiosity, which among the Indians comes so many times accompanied by exclamatory noises. The elders relate nothing that might prove to be a matter of a clan totem. At least by what we know up to now.

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pense and trouble. A hunter is not disposed to take risks with his small store of shot, powder, and percussion caps, and, since a man does not like to return empty-handed, a hunting party is formed only when its organizer is reasonably certain of success. As in any collective undertaking, any man who wishes to may join a hunting party. However, most parties that I have observed consisted of blood brothers or other sibmates who habitually hunted together. Hunters, of necessity, have a strong feeling for teamwork. The Cubeo are excellent marksmen, cool and courageous.

The big game is the tapir (*wekú*), who is awaited at a salt lick near a small stream. The tapir follows a customary route to the salt lick, arriving quite late in the afternoon. He has worn a trail as deep as a ditch in the soft earth. Among the maze of these deep pathways fresh tracks and fresh dung are the signs of current use. A man who has seen fresh tracks reports it. The hunters go out to kill a particular tapir who has already been observed, so that they may speak of him in personal terms.

Communities differ in hunting customs. Some use dogs to chase the animal through the forest. The *Bahúkiwa* method, which seemed quite successful, was to rendezvous with the tapir at his salt lick. The Indians are fond of tapir flesh, which is tender and tasty. I participated in only one tapir hunt with the *Bahúkiwa*. A large female was killed, toward dusk, as she nibbled on salted earth. We camped nearby, spending a good part of the night eating spit-broiled steaks and cutting up the animal for transportation home. The limbs came as entire pieces, and the rest of the flesh was cut into strips and neatly packaged in palm leaves. The men were very gay. They amused themselves by inserting sticks into the tapir's vagina. As the animal had been killed in the territory of another sib we stopped at the sib house and, as is customary, gave away about half the meat. The *Bahúkiwa* hunters were pleased at the opportunity to display both generosity and evidence of success. The remainder of the flesh was distributed at the home sib, each hunter making a personal presentation of a portion of meat. The Cubeo utilize nothing but the flesh of the tapir.

Hunting, in summary, is a distinctive pursuit and marks one for prominence. An aspirant for the headmanship is ordinarily a hunter. He pleases the community because he enlivens the diet and has surrendered some of his leisure in its behalf. In a special category is the hunter of the dreaded jaguar. Such a man is interested in sport and in prestige. The jaguar hunter may be solitary or he may invite a few close friends to accompany him. He brings home the hide for a

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derer, having killed one sibmate, is surely planning to kill others. 682 [614]
However, such reasoning is more appropriate in cases of sorcery than in cases of direct assault.

Among the *Hehénewa*, I was told, a man was beating his wife when [593]
his own brother, who had no apparent cause to do so, intervened. [578]
This led to a quarrel. While they were quarreling they heard a [763]
monkey howl, always an omen of the impending death of a kinsman. [825]
In alarm, each took his gun and together they went to the river to
shoot the monkey. There the wife-beater shot and killed his brother,
claiming that it was an accident. However, he decided he had better
leave. Later that day, when a third brother learned what had hap-
pened, he set out to find and kill his fugitive brother. The police, [625]
however, learned of the shooting and induced him to find the killer [697]
and turn him over to them. This he did. The culprit spent some
months in jail and was released. By that time anger had subsided
and the brothers were reconciled.

Should a man kill his wife only her kin will avenge her. There is 682
no one to avenge or punish a father who kills his children. The 593
only example of such crimes that I have is of a madman, but it does
illustrate the point. According to the account given me, this man, [266]
crazed by hunger, killed and ate his children. He then attacked his
wife, cut off one of her breasts, roasted it in the fire, and ate it. No
one interfered "because it was his own wife and children." The man
then cut a piece from his own thigh. The people watching said, "Let
him do this. It is a good thing that he should die." They watched as [762]
he then cut his throat and died.

I also learned of another example of unavenged death. An old 683
Bahúkiwa man had died and the inquest named a man of a related
sib as the sorcerer responsible for the death. The sibmen threatened
vengeance. Some days later the alleged sorcerer innocently came to
pay his respects to the dead. He was coolly received, but no hand
was raised against him. When I asked about it I was told that no
one felt close enough to the old man to want to avenge him. The
widow was still angry, but women are not avengers even by means
of sorcery.

Theft to the Cubeo means stealing food from a garden. Thieves 685
pull up manioc tubers in the dead of night and they steal *mihí*. Both
offenses are regarded as serious and incomprehensible. The theft of
mihí is all the more culpable because it is a sacred drug. Such theft [276]
is correctly interpreted by the Cubeo as malice and is attributed only
to men. If caught in the act the thief, even if a sibmate, is severely
beaten or killed. Theft of objects is simply not acknowledged.

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The Cubeo are also fond of the young of animals and treat them with intelligent solicitude. One man built a long platform in his house so that his dogs would not have to sleep on the ground. Men, having shot some monkeys, found an infant clinging to its mother's dead body. They massaged the monkey's breast, saying, "The baby should have the last drop of its mother's milk." 825

Toilet training is casual. No one who carries a child about shows annoyance or disgust at being soiled. The Cubeo are reticent about excretory functions but they do not teach by chiding. They have no fixed ideas as to when a child should be toilet trained. The only injunctions a crawling baby is likely to hear are warnings against injury, if it is too near the fire or the liquid starch with its poisonous content of prussic acid. Still, it is rare for a walking child to urinate or defecate in the house. 863

Walking and talking are actively encouraged. To help the child walk the father provides a harness (*taro*) through which the child's legs pass, allowing it to sit, stand, or walk. The harness is often suspended from a beam and serves as a tether for the child. Mother and father stimulate the child to talk by fluttering its lips. Lip fluttering is a game that persists into late childhood. Cubeo parents dread passivity in a child. They want to see it stirring about and restless. It is for this reason that the mother teases her infant, stirring it to anger or gaiety. The story is told that *Kiiwai* once observed a passive child. He said, "The child must be made to move about," and so created the bothersome pium flies. 856 [773]

The crawling baby is still in its mother's charge. When it has begun to walk and to take solid nourishment, and its parents have resumed sexual relations, it is transferred to the care of an older sister. Every little girl from the age of six on is burdened with a walking baby that rides her left hip as it did its mother's. At this age, when it is learning to walk, many people look after the child. Its paternal grandmother becomes a principal guardian and looks after the child's feeding. After a new baby is born the separation of the young walking child from its mother becomes almost complete. A woman discourages nursing by coating her nipples with a bitter substance even though a boy has casual and playful access to his mother's breast until about the age of six. 85 [603] [862]

CHILDHOOD

In the life of a boy there is an interval of some four years when he no longer receives the same close attention from his mother and has 855

[text continues on p. 177]

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831
832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831
825 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
773 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

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826 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
[833] have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much
[302] trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, depilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.
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[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwá*, and armpit hair is *pwá butéi* (literally, hair tobacco).

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saw them serve chicha in this manner. The Cubeo offer the calabash with a jest: "Drink quickly so that you may be drunk soon." The aim of the drinking party is to achieve an intense state of excitement and to maintain that until overcome by sheer fatigue and sleep. 574 Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* supplement drinking to intensify and 273 hasten the reaction. When *mihí* is taken, producing color visions and 276 finally a blackout, the Indians say, "Now we shall get drunk quickly." *Mihí* is associated with *míwa* (birds), which are the patrons of ec- [825] static intoxication.[1] Drunkenness is not to be avoided. If a little boy gets drunk his father is proud of his precociousness. Women, however, are not expected to get drunk and they rarely do.

574 *Mihí* is not taken at every drinking party but only at those that 276 are considered very important. At the mourning festival (*óyne*) a great quantity is consumed. The narcotic plants (*Banisteriopsis* [249] *caapi* and others) from which *mihí* is prepared are cultivated by the [171] men only and they alone drink it. The Cubeo regard it as a sacred drug, and from all indications it is so regarded throughout the Western Amazon region where it is used. Along the Orinoco the Indians chew the skin, but all along the Vaupés an infusion is prepared by boiling the leaves, bark, and roots to form a greenish-brown "soup" that is strongly bitter. The Cubeo prepare several varieties that are graded according to potency. Upon truly solemn occasions they begin with a mild infusion from the leaf of a variety that is taken exactly at midday, and conclude with a very strong variety just before sunset. This sequence of *mihí* transports a man from vague and mild visions of whiteness to intense hallucinatory experiences, bursts of violence, and finally loss of consciousness. *Mihí* almost invariably causes vomiting, and for that reason alone each man must take many servings. For each type of *mihí* there are four servings taken from a small gourd dipper. The first service is of two dippers, the second of one, and the third and fourth of two each. At the beginning, the Indians say, the vision becomes blurred, things begin to look white, and one begins to lose the faculty of speech. The white vision turns to red. One Indian described it as a room spinning with red feathers. This passes and one begins to see people in the bright coloring of the jaguar. When the final strong forms of *mihí* are taken the hallucinations begin to assume a disturbing and fearful form. One becomes aware of violent people milling about, shouting, weeping, threatening to kill. One is seized with the fear that he no longer has a home. The house posts and trees come alive and take the form of people.

[1] There is also a bird called *mihíta*.

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larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to ancestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *dyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *dyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

MASK REPRESENTATIONS

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Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, collected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined list of 62.[1] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkũ* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abũhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abũhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sorcerer. The sorcerer is called *yavi* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*tatárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

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[1] See the end of this chapter.

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Alakálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kawá*) is simply a literal representation. The araçú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *kwananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

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The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They *stir* and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* — the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

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The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

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The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

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8. *Valuliaboxoko* (K-G) A giant demon, killer of fish, who is actually the carara bird, a great devourer of fish.

Birds

9. *Murukutuko* (*pupuli*) and (K-G) The owl. Has a mask covering only the head. Holds a torch in one hand and a stick in the other and jumps up and down in imitation of the owl jumping from branch to branch. Regarded as an evil devourer of people.
10. *Haukabo* (K-G)
11. *Kavá* (K-G;IG) The carrion vulture.
12. *Miavi* (K-G;IG) The eagle. The mask has a white facepiece with an hourglass frame surmounting it.
13. *Kolapilabo* (K-G) A small prey bird.
14. *Kulika* (K-G) A bird of the parrot family.
15. *Vekó* (K-G;IG) A bird of the parrot family.
16. *Kobauako* (K-G) A bird of the parrot family.
17. *Olo mo oko* (K-G) The aracua.
18. *Umanami* (K-G) The tém tem (*Tachyphonus*).
19. *Yolourus* (K-G) Swallows.
20. *Pinikabokü* (IG) A small white bird.

Fish

21. *Borikakü* (K-G;IG) The aracú.
22. *Mávayo* (K-G;IG) The red-mouthed aracú.
23. *Avali* (K-G) A small aracú.
24. *Pyénkü* (IG) A small black fish.
25. *Ihiabolü* (K-G;IG) A small fish.
26. *Haima* (K-G) The yaudia.
27. *Batakahaima* (K-G) The black yaudia.
28. *Atuaholabo* (K-G) The colored aracú.
29. *Iyudyo* (K-G) A small aracú.
30. *Emiwa* (IG) Minnows.

Insects

31. *Keratamáwa* (K-G;IG) Dung beetles.
32. *Tatávako* (K-G;IG) The butterfly.
33. *Maka* (K-G) A bird-catching spider.
34. *Pekú penkünkü* (IG) Beetle larvae.
35. *Budyauobo* (K-G) The leaf bug.
36. *Bóboba* (K-G) The house spider.
37. *Umánahonkü* (K-G;IG) The dragonfly.
38. *Malákaibo* (K-G) A large night butterfly.
39. *Bobako* (K-G) A small night swarmer.
40. *Kumatidiawo* (K-G) A caterpillar.
41. *Tadyiwa pihoa* (K-G) A caterpillar.
42. *Kohidivoko* (IG) The cockroach.
43. *Himáwa* (IG) Caterpillars.
44. *Utáwe* (K-G) The firefly.
45. *Henohenóri* (IG) The bee.
46. *Utcikü* (K-G;IG) The wasp.
47. *Kubuwa* (K-G) Sand flies.

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Mammals

48. *Yaú*	(K-G;IG)	The jaguar.
49. *Nyamíko*	(K-G;IG)	The deer.
50. *U*	(K-G;IG)	The sloth.
51. *Pamúrũ*	(IG)	The armadillo.
52. *Kapáro*	(IG)	The monkey.
53. *Ihwaní*	(IG)	The peccary.

Reptiles and Amphibians

54. *Ala*	(K-G)	The yararaca snake.
55. *Ba ko ko ko*	(K-G)	A small frog.
56. *Umáua*	(IG)	Frogs.
57. *Pampámibo*	(IG)	Frogs (another variety).
58. *Puénwa*	(IG)	Small frogs.
59. *Xiabũ*	(IG)	The alligator.

Unidentified

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60. *Pikuré*	(IG)	
61. *Tonkakũ*	(IG)	
62. *Imihikũ*	(IG)	

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beeswax. When enemy *Mąũnwa* attack, the paste is thrown among them, causing them to fall stupefied to the ground. It is the shaman, however, who can contend with these ogres most successfully. The *abũhuwa* are frightening to behold, the Indians say, because they have two faces, one in front and one in back. Some have sticky bodies and when they embrace an unwary victim he can no longer escape. A mother and child are favorite targets of these *abũhuwa*. The mother is killed and the child is reared as one of them. It in turn then seizes people. Female *abũhuwa* have a preference for men and the *abũhukũ* tries to catch a woman. 776 [789] [756]

Nyáma abũhuko (Deer ogre) is a black ogress, an evil spirit of the deer, who catches children wandering about alone. She tosses them into the air so as to break their necks and then and there eats them.

Another ogre is *Opómbibekũ*, a dwarf with an enormous penis, who flies about at night, seizes little boys, and eats them.

Kómi is also an ogre, one who emerged with the first people. Eventually people caught him and burned him alive. They then noticed that whatever came near his ashes died. Sorcerers still go to fetch his ashes for their "poisons." [754]

Snakes, the boa and anaconda in particular, are dangerous to women. The land boa rapes women in their manioc gardens so that they give birth to snakes. The water anaconda attacks menstruating women who come to the river. A menstruant is endangered by land snakes, too, but can ward them off by painting with genipa. Nothing, however, will protect her in the water. The water anaconda is a threat to a newborn child and to its father as well. This menace, however, is easily counteracted by the simple magical techniques of the old men. The dangerous anaconda is the white anaconda and not the ancestral black anaconda, which is regarded as friendly "because he knows his people." He is not venerated and is not the object of ritual although he is represented in petroglyphs on the Cuduiari. In the old days, I was told, he was kept as a household pet but for sentimental reasons only. 776 825 [841] [789]

The river is also the home of the *mucápuãnwa* (fish people), who are anthropomorphic spirits. They are small people who live in a house beneath the river and move about at night, sometimes brushing moistly against travelers and frightening them but otherwise harmless. 776

The fish, who are of great importance in Cubeo ceremonials, not only in the *óyne* but in their own fish dances and fish songs by which the Cubeo celebrate great catches, are a "people." They, too, live in a house and have a chief, *Munyúnbekũku* (Old man *munyún*), a 776 825

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776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremonials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwãnwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and marúku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *miwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapurí with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
[765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *diyne*.

The luminary *aryá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
821

[1] The doctrine of *aryá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aryá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aryáñino* (*aryá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aryá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwũkakũ*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwũ* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwũ korika* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hánan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

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of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known as *pariékokũ* (man of power) or as *yaví* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokũ* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yaví* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yaví* is a *pariékokũ* but not every *pariékokũ* is a *yaví*. The *yaví* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokũ* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokũ*, but *yavís* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yaví* and the *pariékokũ*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékokũ*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parúkũ*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parúkũ*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleasantly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the shamans wage against one another. A *yaví*, I was told, has a different

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A yavi, I was told, has a different kind of *umé*, one that he can send to attack the *umé* of another. An injured *umé* sickens and dies and so does its owner. The people I spoke to did not believe that an ordinary person could be attacked through his *umé*. As a result of these shamanistic battles some strong *yavis* emerge with extraordinary reputations for power and aggressiveness. The *yavi* is the single truly aggressive figure among the Cubeo. The ordinary *paridkohü* is not. The fact of being called "jaguar" puts the shaman beyond the human pale and allows him scope for unbridled ferocity. The benevolent acts of the *yavi*, his skill as a curer, his ability to find things, and inexplicably his ability to ripen fruits – the subject of ancestral rites – weigh relatively little against his reputation as a "killer."

The relationship between the *yavi* and the jaguar never became fully clear to me, perhaps because my information came only from laymen. No *yavi* was willing to talk to me about his work. Some informants said flatly that every jaguar was a *yavi* or the dog of a *yavi*, or a jaguar into which a *yavi*'s soul had entered. When a *yavi* dies his ghost spirit (*dekökü*) becomes a jaguar. According to this view, the jaguar is feared because he is not an animal but a fiercely predatory man. Other informants explained that there are both ordinary jaguars and jaguars who are *yavis*. Both views agreed on the point that the fierceness of the jaguar is of human origin. Those who believed in ordinary jaguars said those were the kind that might run from a man. The *yavi* is ordinarily in human form and assumes the jaguar form by putting on a jaguar skin. One man said that it is not the man inside but the jaguar skin that eats the victim. There is also the view that it is the *umé* of the *yavi* that assumes a jaguar form and prowls about at night devouring people. One *yavi*, it is said, had his daughter pick the bits of human flesh from his teeth with the fang of a serpent. This young woman would steal from the manioc gardens. The women caught her at it and beat her. The next night the *umé* of her father ate them all. Another feature of the *yavis* is that they are never solitary. They travel in packs and they form a college for the training of recruits.

The story is told of an attack on a house at dawn by *pwänyawiwa* (jaguar people) who ate up all the people but one man who had hidden on a rafter. Having eaten, the jaguars took off their skins and went outside to fetch water. The man jumped down and threw all the skins into the fire. When the jaguars returned they rushed to save the burning skins. Those that succeeded left the house as jaguars and those that did not had to leave as humans.

A short time ago a *Bahükiwa* was clawed by a jaguar. He returned

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *paridhokū*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvalyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókūkū* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókūkū* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[1] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kurúkū* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvalyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[1] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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tious and no longer attack people. The *yaví* has his distant method of killing and is feared for that. But even this fear, strong as it is, is as nothing compared with the fear of the nonprofessional sorcerer. The arts of sorcery, which include the arts of poisoning, are known to all men and are believed to be used by all men. What restrains native fear of the *yaví* is the Cubeo conviction already referred to, that mischief must be motivated by understandable feelings of anger, envy, hatred. In theory, the *yaví*, being outside the human pale, may act from motives not understood by the victim. But in fact, the Cubeo find it difficult to envisage this, and they seek to account for how a victim might have stirred up the animosity of the *yaví*. They console themselves with the thought that as long as they avoid trouble with the *yaví* they will be all right. Among the nonprofessionals, on the other hand, they have no difficulty in locating motives.

The *yavís* use esoteric means for killing at a distance. First they send a frightening dream of death as a warning, and follow that with objects such as have already been mentioned which are "shot" into the victim's body from a distance. Some use a method of killing that my informant said was introduced by Indians from the Rio Negro in Venezuela. Known as *dokūbéwoinu* (dirt killing), it causes a slow and anguished death, and is used mainly as a retaliation against death from sorcery. The shaman takes from the corpse of the victim parings of nails and bits of foot callous, scurf from behind the ears, a bit of forelock hair, fingernails and toenails, and scrapings from the teeth. All this is mixed with boiled capsicum. When the brew is heated the intended victim suffers stomach cramps. It is brought to a boiling point and allowed to subside and the victim's pain subsides also. Boiling continues for three days. On the third day the medicine man sits over the pot and sings, commanding his victim to eat parts of his own body. The *yaví* accompanies his instructions with gestures. The victim now vomits continually. Then the brew is boiled vigorously and the medicine man does a staggering dance around the pot. His victim staggers and bites his tongue. Now, the spirit of the victim appears over the pot in the form of a butterfly. Caught in the vapors it falls into the pot. The medicine man immediately breaks the pot and the victim falls to his death. He has been made to eat his teeth, his penis, his testicles, and his fingers. What I have described is the short method of killing. The long method lasts ten days, during which time the sorcerer calls on his tutelary spirits, each of which is known as *ihékowakū dekókū* (sickness-bringing spirit). The *umé* of a sorcerer is never human; it takes the form of an insect or of several

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[775] insects, not to mention the jaguar in the case of a true *yaví*. The insect
[125] spirits that arrive to fall into the pot are *taldnko* (butterfly), *uldwe* (firefly), *henohenóri* (bee), and *utcikū* (wasp).

[828] The common shamanistic form of killing is *diiwai*. The shaman usually kills when the victim is asleep. The death takes place in a dream and such a death is known as *dekóbaiwu* (dream death). There are other forms of professional shamanistic killing. Blowing in the house is one. If the shaman blows his breath and tobacco smoke in the same manner as in curing, but within the house, then someone [755] in the house will sicken and may die. For this reason curing takes place on the plaza. Yet having explained this, my informant added that more important was intent. A shaman could treat someone within the house and his blowing would cause no harm if he did not want it to. Boiling nail cuttings from fingers or toes in a capsicum pepper broth kills by a similar principle but with less attention to painful detail than in the previously described method of killing a sorcerer or poisoner. The shaman prepares this brew deep in the woods where he cannot be seen. He must, however, have been able to [534] obtain the cuttings from his intended victim. Finally, a shaman has a stone bull-roarer. As he whirls it the victim suffers as if struck with a machete.

682 The Indians claim to use a number of plant poisons which go by
278 the *lingoa geral* term *marukimbára*, and in Tucanoan by the term
824 for "illness," *ihé*. *Turú* is a leaf cultivated as a poison. The leaf is shredded and the fibers made up into a small packet that is dipped into a calabash of chicha until the infusion is strong. If the *turú* is used fresh it kills quickly and if allowed to dry for five days or so it produces only illness, the symptoms of which are diarrhea and excretion of blood. *Turú* is administered at a drinking party shortly after midnight. All in the house are implicated in *turú* poisoning since only the victim must drink the fatal chicha.

278 *Koné nonedwaiye* is a cultivated leafy plant similar to *turú* but
824 one that produces a fatty exudation, and is intended to poison by
754 entering the body through the urethra. At a drinking party the poi-
682 soner waits for his victim to leave the house to urinate. He then secretly places the substance on the urine. Symptoms of pain in the groin and in the genitals accompanied by a discharge of pus occur within three months and are fatal.

278 *Yapibū kowaiye* (poison for swelling the abdomen) is another culti-
824 vated plant from which an infusion is put into chicha or porridge.
682 Symptoms occur after a year and are fatal. For ten days the victim has
[241] fever and pain in his limbs. These symptoms subside and return.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

early rubber gatherers, who on occasions would shoot dozens at a time, more for sport than to supply meat. They are now nearly extinct in many areas.

Having killed such a large animal the difficulty is to keep the meat. The *caucheros* build great platforms over the fires and smoke it for days. This is the only way it can be preserved. It is not possible to eat very much of the rich, sweet meat at a time, and the Indians believe that at certain times of the year it is bad to touch it, for it is almost inedible and causes skin blemishes. Though the Indian professes to despise tapirs, he nevertheless assigns human characteristics to them; he believes they dance, drink *chicha* and even build *malocas*. He also believes that by eating a particular animal he may acquire some of its characteristics. From a peccary he can gain faith and resolution, for the wild boar's habit of going to the rescue of a wounded companion has left an indelible impression on the Indians. Just as the puma is credited with human characteristics, the *agouti*, like the legendary African hare, is attributed wisdom and wit.

The blowpipe is of as much importance to the hunter as his bow and arrow. The Tukano make their pipes from a small palm. A length of from eight to ten feet is cut and allowed to dry. The pith is removed and an inner bore put into position and polished with tree roots. The outside is bound along its whole length with bark and covered with a resinous wax. A small pig-bone sight is fixed on one end and a hard wooden mouthpiece on the other. The Indian will travel through the forest all day long, looking for birds, small monkeys and squirrels, and carrying his match-thin ten-inch darts, perhaps thirty at a time, in wicker holders.

He constantly watches the trees overhead; he may suddenly see a parrot on a branch ahead of him. He moves forward slowly; if he can stand directly beneath the bird he has less difficulty in steadying his aim. He raises the pipe cautiously and places the cupped lower end over his mouth. He reaches behind with his free arm and draws a poison-tipped dart. Inserting it in the shaft with its cotton wad, he aligns the pig-bone sight on to the bird and inflates his cheeks. There is a barely discernible puff. Seventy feet over his head the parrot squawks, starts to fly, falters and crashes through the branches to the ground. Sometimes there are other birds near by and the Indian will kill three or four before he begins to look for them lying somewhere in the dense thickets, but he never loses one. Parrots are the most common target and the most easily approached, but unless cooked for many hours they are quite inedible. We would occasionally make a soup from them. Macaws, toucans and egrets are sought after, more for their feathers than as food. Pigeon, turkey, duck and geese are far more palatable; while frogs, snakes and various grubs, ants and beetles are considered delicacies.

ABOVE: *Preparing for the festival.* BELOW: *Bréo unpacks the festival feather head-dresses from their boxes.* [see p. 70-B]

/p. 78-A/

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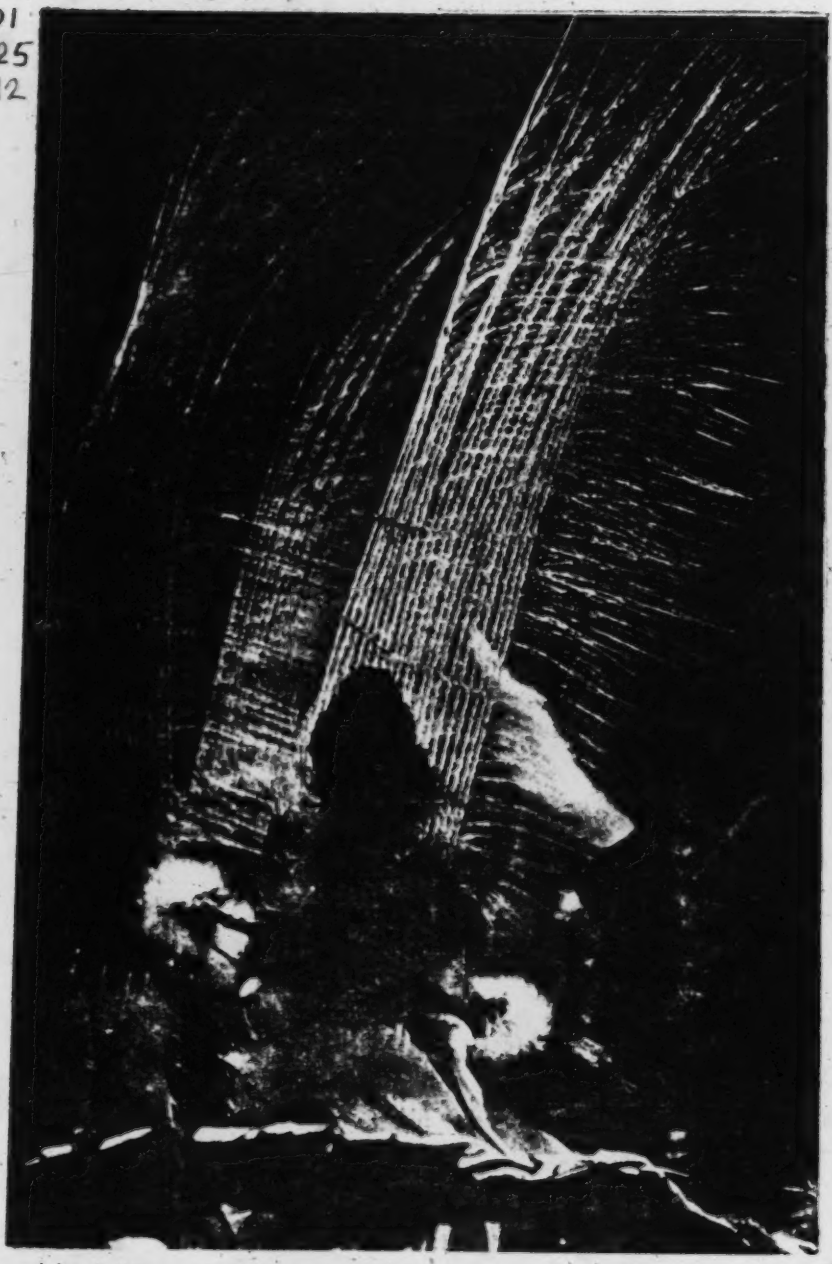

A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.

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/p. 78-B/

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Tukano profile and festival head-dress.

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to
171 see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just
778 as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try
562 to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments
171 reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nutshells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that
171 the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them
825 luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the
[777] deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

6t Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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occur constantly in the myth and legend of the tribes, as does the Motilon legend of the twins. It is a legend known from Mexico to the tribes living in Tierra del Fuego, which suggests a considerable antiquity.

Just as the puma is usually the symbol of fear, so the deer is credited by the Indian with fairy-like, almost feminine, qualities, perhaps because of its shyness and speed. It has been suggested that the deer is the symbol of new life, having been regarded as such by early migrations of hunting folk moving south along the chain of the Andes from North America. It was thus associated with first menstruation and all the accompanying rites when a girl reaches puberty and is able to create new life, and its hooves were used by women as ornaments or rattles. The deer-bone flute may have been the first musical instrument used by the Indians.

Several tribes have no musical instruments at all. Possibly these were the first people to reach South America. Later migrations may have brought instruments with them, possibly others evolved on the spot. The similarity of some Kogi and Motilon instruments to those used in Central America suggests a more recent influence.

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At first we found it difficult to distinguish the sounds of the different instruments if we could not see them. But after a while we learnt to recognize not only the instrument but also the many different tunes of each tribe. A Noanamá girl would sing to herself for hours on end. The Motilon had a vast repertoire of walking, war and harvest songs. Instrumental tunes were fewer and some, as in the case of the haunting call of the snail shell, tended to be very repetitive. The Tukano, however, had innumerable panpipe tunes.

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Indian music we at first found strange because we were accustomed to the European tone system. They have no conception of note-vibrations to obtain an octave. Yet they can tell whether one instrument is in tune or not with another. A panpipe can be cut to a certain length to produce a particular sound, but it is difficult to produce the exact note, so they may raise the pitch by adding sand, or putting water or even *chicha* inside.

The panpipe tunes in the Tukano festival were the nearest thing we heard to orchestral music; each group played antiphonally, with sometimes two or three groups playing different tunes. We could not however make out whether combination or competition was the motive behind this weird performance.

The Tukano had no conception of counterpoint, though their playing was often harmonious. We did find it in the singing of the Noanamá – perhaps the result of mission teaching. One Tukano chant is almost identical to a western Irish folk lament.

In contrast to African negro music in which stringed instruments and drums predominate, Indian music is mainly that of the rattle and the flute. Every type of construction is found, from humming top and conch shell to